

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MBABANE 0022

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, US, WZ

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY: U.S.-SWAZI BILATERAL RELATIONS

REF: USUN 6844, STATE 299765

SUMMARY: INCREASED U.S. BILATERAL PROGRAMS AND OTHER ACTIONS ARE RECOMMENDED AS REWARD FOR GOS SUPPORT AT THE 30TH UNGA, TO HELP ACHIEVE OTHER U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND TO MAINTAIN FUTURE SWAZI UN SUPPORT IN THE FACE OF RADICAL OAU AND NON-ALIGNED PRESSURE. END SUMMARY.

1. I VERY MUCH APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S AND AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN'S COMMENTS REFTELS ON ADDITIONAL PROGRAMS TO STRENGTHEN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH SWAZILAND AS REWARD FOR FIRM GOS COOPERATION AT THE 30TH UNGA. IN MAKING VIGOROUS AND FIRM REPRESENTATIONS HERE ON UN ISSUES, I MADE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT GOS VOTING RECORD WOULD BE A FACTOR IN BILATERAL RELATIONS. SWAZILAND PERMREP COMMENTS TO AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN INDICATE THAT THE GOS NOW EXPECT US TO TO BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO ITS DEVELOPMENT NEEDS.

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2. INCREASED BILATERAL ACTIVITY AND MORE EFFECTIVE ACTION IN MEETING AFRICAN CONCERNS ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES ARE NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN SWAZI SUPPORT ON UN ISSUES AND TO ACHIEVE OTHER MAJOR POLICY OBJECTIVES. SWAZILAND ASSUMES SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEM; THIS TENDS TO BE ALL PERVASIVE IN GOS FOREIGN POLICY DETERMINATION. GOOD PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN WORKING TOWARD OUR FUNDAMENTAL GOAL OF DEVELOPING SWAZILAND AS A STABLE, FREE, MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY IN THE HOPE THAT IT WILL HAVE SOME INFLUENCE FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. HOWEVER, COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC GROWTH HAS BEEN UNBALANCED, FRAGILE AND CERTAINLY NOT INSTITUTIONALIZED. SWAZILAND IS STILL CHARACTERIZED BY A RANGE OF POTENTIALLY DESTABILIZING FACTORS; IT IS SUBJECT TO SUBVERSIVE ACTION FROM MARXIST-ORIENTED MOZAMBIQUE. SWAZILAND'S VULNERABILITY TO MOZAMBIQUE PRESSURE AND THE LACK OF MEANINGFUL PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH APARTHEID CAUSE MANY SWAZI OFFICIALS TO SUPPORT NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS IN THE UN. ADDITIONAL MOVEMENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, COMBINED WITH EXPANDED AID, USIS, TRADE AND INVESTMENT PROMOTION PROGRAMS, WOULD HELP COUNTER RADICAL AND COMMUNIST INFLUENCES, STRENGTHEN GOS RESOLVE TO MAINTAIN ITS PRO-U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, AND ENHANCE SWAZI CAPACITY TO DEMONSTRATE TO BLACK AND WHITE LEADERS IN THE REGION THAT MULTI-RACIALISM IS A VIABLE OPTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AS REWARD TO SWAZILAND FOR ITS FIRM UN SUPPORT AND TO ACHIEVE OTHER POLICY OBJECTIVES, I RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S CONSIDERATION.

A. SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES

GOS BELIEVES THAT USG SHOULD BE MORE ACTIVE IN PUSHING FOR HUMAN DIGNITY, EQUALITY AND SELF-DETERMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. SIGNIFICANT TO NOTE IN THIS CONNECTION THAT NORTH KOREA UN LOBBYING MISSIONS TO SOUTHERN AFRICA PROMISE MATERIAL SUPPORT TO FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND COMPLETE DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SUPPORT TO THE AFRICANS IN TRYING TO ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA. IN CONTRAST, SOUTH KOREA'S REPRESENTATIVE USUALLY BEGINS HIS VISITS IN SEPTEMBER; HE STAYS ONE OR TWO DAYS AND SHOWS LITTLE, IF ANY, INTEREST IN RACIAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. INTENSITY OF AFRICAN FEELING ABOUT APARTHEID IS SUCH THAT DESIRE EXISTS TO REWARD CONCRETE SUPPORT BY VOTING FOR HOSTILE RESOLUTIONS. IF PASSAGE OF HOSTILE RESOLUTIONS ON KOREA WOULD ENCOURAGE PARTISAN AND AGGRESSIVE ACTIVITY, THEN THERE

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WOULD APPEAR TO BE A LINKAGE BETWEEN SECURITY PROBLEMS IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND THOSE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH WE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT. ANGOLA SHOULD MAKE THE INTERRELATIONSHIP CLEAR. AS A MINIMUM, U.S. SHOULD MAINTAIN RESTRAINT ELEMENTS OF ITS POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA, STRENGTHEN THE COMMUNICATIONS ELEMENTS, WITHOUT ACCEPTING APARTHEID. WE SHOULD FOLLOW AFRICAN LEAD ON THE TRANSKEI RECOGNITION ISSUE, PRESS FOR TIMELY INDEPENDENCE IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA, AND CONTINUE RESISTANCE TO SOVIET MILITARY EXPANSIONISM

IN ANGOLA WHICH HAS SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR SWAZILAND AND ITS FUTURE FOREIGN POLICY. IN MY OPINION, ACTION IN THESE AREAS WOULD BE AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT AS AID IN MAINTAINING SWAZILAND SUPPORT FOR U.S. POSITIONS ON UN ITEMS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE TO US.

B. INTERNAL SECURITY:

THE APPEARANCE OF A RADICAL MARXIST-ORIENTED REGIME ON SWAZILAND'S BORDERS IS CONSIDERED BY GOS AS A POTENTIAL THREAT TO ITS POLITICAL STABILITY. THE GOS HAS REACTED BY TRYING TO STRENGTHEN INTERNAL SECURITY; IT RECENTLY REQUESTED THE BRITISH FOR SUBSTANTIAL MILITARY AID. HMG COMPLETED A SURVEY OF SWAZI DEFENSE FORCES; ITS RECOMMENDATIONS WERE NOT TOO FORTHCOMING. UNDERSTAND SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE PROVIDED SOME ASSISTANCE. I DO NOT BELIEVE USG SHOULD GET INVOLVED IN BUILDING UP THE RECENTLY CREATED SWAZI ARMY AT THIS TIME. BOOKS AND TRAINING FILMS WHICH WE PROVIDE PERIODICALLY ARE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED BY TOP OFFICIALS SUCH AS THE MINISTER OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, WHO IS A KEY FIGURE IN SWAZI FOREIGN POLICY DETERMINATION AND A LEADER IN ESTABLISHING SWAZI ARMY. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO REVIEW ITS CURRENT POSITION ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO DETERMINE IF THERE IS ANYTHING WE COULD USEFULLY OFFER AS REWARD FOR SWAZI UN SUPPORT. IT OCCURS TO ME THAT SWAZIS WOULD APPRECIATE A MODEST OFFER OF COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, BAND UNIFORMS OR SOME OTHER TOKEN GESTURE.

C. AID PROCEDURES:

AID PROGRAMMING OF PROJECT ASSISTANCE IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY FLEXIBLE TO ENABLE US TO RESPOND QUICKLY WITH NEW AID INPUTS AS REWARD FOR POLITICAL PERFORMANCE. PROJECT PLANNING REQUIRES LONG LEAD TIMES, FEASIBILITY STUDIES, SEVERAL STAGES OF REVIEW AND CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL. EXPERIENCE SHOWS IT TAKES 2 TO 3 YEARS TO INITIATE A PROJECT. DEPARTMENT, IN COOPERATION WITH AID, SHOULD

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EXAMINE THIS MATTER AND DEVELOP MORE FLEXIBLE PROCEDURES CONSISTENT WITH OUR POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS.

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D. AID PROGRAM - GENERAL:

AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, WE HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED MAJOR EXPANSION IN ASSISTANCE FOR FY 77 WITH THE GOS FOR RURAL HEALTH, AGRICULTURE COOPERATIVES AND MARKETING PROJECTS. AID LEVEL FOR FY 77 PROJECTED AT \$2,700,000 COMPARED WITH \$990,000 FOR FY 76. OSARAC IS CONTINUING TO EXPLORE OTHER PROJECT POSSIBILITIES TO RAISE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE RURAL POOR AND THUS HELP REDUCE DISSATISFACTION RESULTING FROM WIDE INCOME DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE SUBSISTENCE AND MODERN SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY. AID/WHO BILHARZIA CONTROL STUDY IS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN FEBRUARY 1976; IF THE STUDY JUSTIFIES FUNDING, WE SHOULD ACCELERATE PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION. THE LOW COST TINKABI TRACTOR DEVELOPED BY THE SWAZIS REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION AND COULD HAVE SIGNIFICANT IMPACT IN EXPANDING AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT IN LDC'S. IF AN AMERICAN FIRM SUCCEEDS IN NEGOTIATING A JOINT VENTURE ARRANGEMENT WITH THE GOS FOR PRODUCTION AND/OR MARKETING, AID SHOULD CONSIDER LOANS TO LESOTHO, MALAWI, SWAZILAND, AND PERHAPS OTHERS, FOR TRACTOR PROCUREMENT BY SMALL FARMERS THROUGH COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS OR DEVELOPMENT BANKS.

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IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE SOUTH KOREANS AND JAPANESE SHOULD ALSO SHOW SOME SELF-HELP IN MAINTAINING SWAZI SUPPORT ON THE UN KOREAN ISSUE. THEIR VITAL INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED. THEY SHOULD, THEREFORE, BE ENCOURAGED TO OFFER SOME ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AS REWARD TO THE SWAZIS FOR SUPPORT ON THE UN KOREAN ITEM.

E. UBLS:

THE RECENT BREAK-UP OF UBLS IS A REGIONAL UNIVERSITY IS REGRETTABLE, SINCE LACK OF HIGH LEVEL MANPOWER IS A MAJOR CONSTRAINT ON DEVELOPMENT. LOCALIZATION PRESSURE IS STRONG AND COULD BECOME THE SOURCE OF INCREASED DISSATISFACTION IN THE ABSENCE OF A GREATER EFFORT IN POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION TO ENABLE MORE SWAZIS TO FILL POSITIONS OF HIGHER RESPONSIBILITY IN GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS. OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS, OUR POSTURE HAS BEEN TO ENCOURAGE RESIDUAL UNIVERSITY COOPERATION AMONG THE THREE COUNTRIES WITHOUT GETTING INVOLVED IN DAY-TO-DAY DECISIONS ON UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT. SOME SIGNS OF WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE HAVE BEEN NOTED, BUT WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN PRESENTED WITH A MEANINGFUL PROGRAM OF COOPERATION OR A REQUEST FOR SPECIFIC ASSISTANCE BASED ON SUCH COOPERATION. ASSISTANCE TO HIGHER EDUCATION IS SO ESSENTIAL AND FUNDAMENTAL TO ACHIEVING OUR POLICY OBJECTIVES THAT AID WASHINGTON SHOULD EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF FINDING SOME SOURCE OF FUNDING NOW TO ENABLE US TO RESPOND TO A SPECIFIC REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE, POSSIBLY DURING NEXT FEW MONTHS.

F. SELF-HELP:

THE SELF-HELP FUND IS A FLEXIBLE AND HIGHLY USEFUL POLICY INSTRUMENT WHICH ENABLES US TO RESPOND IN A REASONABLY TIMELY MANNER TO REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE FOR CLINICS, CLASSROOMS, WATER SUPPLIES AND THE LIKE. HOWEVER, WE HAVE NO FUNDS SINCE THE \$30,000 ALLOCATED FOR THE FIRST HALF OF FY 76 HAS BEEN FULLY UTILIZED. POST HAS \$60,000 WORTH OF APPROVED HEALTH AND EDUCATION PROJECTS IN THE PIPELINE. I STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT DEPARTMENT ALLOCATE TOTAL OF \$60,000 OVER THE NEXT SIX MONTHS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE PROJECTS.

G. TRADE EXHIBITION:

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SWAZILAND SCHEDULES A TRADE EXHIBITION EACH YEAR IN CONJUNCTION WITH ITS INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATION. THE EXHIBITION HAS AN ATTENDANCE IN EXCESS OF 35,000 AND HAS BEEN OPENED EACH YEAR BY LEADING AFRICAN PERSONALITIES SUCH AS THE FOREIGN MINISTERS FROM ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA. LAST YEAR COUNTRIES MOUNTING EXHIBITS INCLUDED ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA, LESOTHO, MOZAMBIQUE, NIGERIA, SOUTH AFRICA, TAIWAN AND UK. THE FAIR IS ATTENDED BY THE SWAZI PRIME MINISTER.

PREVIOUS U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THIS EXHIBITION HAS MET MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR PRESENCE. GOS WILL EXPECT US TO MOUNT MORE IMPRESSIVE

CULTURAL AND TRADE EXHIBITS THIS YEAR. POST PLANNING TO MOUNT BLACK PRESENCE EXHIBITS AND RECRUIT SEVERAL AMERICAN SUBSIDIARIES FROM

SOUTH AFRICA TO PARTICIPATE WITH MEANINGFUL TRADE SHOWS. WE NEED MORE FUNDS TO RENT LARGER PAVILION AND COVER OTHER EXPENSES. CURRENT FUNDS AVAILABLE FROM USIS BUDGET AMOUNTING TO \$979 ARE INSUFFICIENT. RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT, COMMERCE AND USIA PROVIDE AN ADDITIONAL \$2,500.

H. INVESTMENT:

SWAZILAND IS ONE OF THE FEW COUNTRIES IN AFRICA ACTIVELY SEEKING PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT TO ENHANCE ITS DEVELOPMENT ON BASIS OF FREE ENTERPRISE. GOS HAS BEEN DISAPPOINTED WITH THE INFLOW OF PRIVATE CAPITAL INVESTMENT FROM THE UNITED STATES. THE MINISTER OF INDUSTRY, MINES AND TOURISM HAS INFORMALLY REQUESTED AN AMERICAN EXPERT TO ASSIST HIS MINISTRY IN PROMOTING GREATER INFLOW OF PRIVATE AMERICAN CAPITAL. HE SEES THIS AS ESSENTIAL TO HELP SWAZILAND REMAIN MORE PROSPEROUS THAN MOZAMBIQUE AND THUS DEMONSTRATE SUPERIORITY OF FREE ENTERPRISE OVER SOCIALIST APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT. THE MINISTER HAS GERMAN AND JAPANESE EXPERTS ASSIGNED TO HIS MINISTRY WHOSE SOLE FUNCTION IS TO MOBILIZE PRIVATE CAPITAL FROM THESE COUNTRIES. RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT EXPLORE POSSIBILITY OF FUNDING U.S. EXPERT FOR ASSIGNMENT TO THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY, MINES AND TOURISM TO PREPARE PRE-FEASIBILITY STUDIES, ADVISE ON INVESTMENT INCENTIVES, AND ASSIST WITH GENERAL INVESTMENT PROMOTION TO ATTRACT PRIVATE AMERICAN CAPITAL. BOLEN

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